643 constitute the source of his strength. No matter what position Chiang Kai-shek may be holding in the government, his leadership is never disputed. Even during his retirement in his native village in 1949, he was able to conduct military operations against the Communists and direct the evacuation of government and military personnel to Formosa.

645 Another source of President Chiang's political power is his position as Director General[7] of the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang or the Nationalist Party was founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Its predecessors, the Hsing Chung Hui (Revive China Society), the Hui (Common Alliance Society), and the Chung-kuo Ko-ming Tang (China Revolutionary Party), also organized by Dr. Sun, all contributed to the overthrow of the Manchu monarchy. The First National Congress of the Kuomintang was held in Canton in 1924. It adopted Dr. Sun's San-min Chu-i [Three People's Principles] as the creed of the Party. The three principles

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6. (continued) fortunes at the expense of the nation. They are the persons who have identified the nationalist government as a corrupt regime. Chiang Kai-shek himself has always led a life of simplicity, according to those close to him.

7. Tsung-ts'ai in Chinese.

665 are nationalism, people's rights, and people's livelihood. Nationalism implies the abolition of unequal treaties and restoration to China her full sovereignty.[8] The rights of people include those of initiative, election, recall and referendum. To improve the livelihood of the people, Dr. Sun advocated the equitable distribution of wealth by the following means: assistance to the tiller to enable him to own his land; the suppression of private speculation on urban land; the regulation of private capital by means of progressive taxation, and the development of state capital.

In another work, entitled Fundamentals of National Reconstruction, Dr. Sun Yat-sen outlined the three stages for constitutional government. The first stage was that of the unification of the country by military force. Then it was to be followed by the second stage, that of political tutelage under the Kuomintang. The final stage would begin with

8. The limitations on China's sovereignty -- foreign concessions in treaty ports, extra-territoriality, restrictions on tarriff, foreign post offices and wireless stations -- were gradually removed between 1929 and 1943.

665 the adoption of a permanent constitution. Dr. Sun further advocated a "five-power constitution," under which the power of impeachment is taken out of the legislative and the power of selecting civil employees by means of competitive examination is made independent of the executive department. Instead of the customary three branches of governmental powers found in the Western democracies, the Chinese Nationalist Government would have five independent branches,[9] the executive, legislative, judicial, control, and examination.

Thus the Kuomintang had an excellent political program to begin with. Unfortunately, Dr. Sun Yat-sen died in 1925. In the following year, Chiang Kai-shek as Commander in Chief of the Revolution Army undertook to unify the country. His northern expedition was highly successful. In two years Chiang Kai-shek not only brought the whole country south of the great wall more or less under his control, but after a bitter struggle with the radical wing and Communist elements of the Kuomintang also firmly established himself as leader of the party, thus ridding the Kuomintang of Communists and Russian advisers whom Dr. Sun Yat-sen had tolerated. Even since, Chiang has become the archenemy of the Communists.

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9. In Chinese, Yüan.

•665 With the establishment of the Nationalist Government in Nanking in October 1928, the second stage of Dr. Sun's program of political reconstruction -- the political tutelage period -- commenced. In this period, political power was to be assumed by the Kuomintang. The Communist Party was outlawed, and no other political party was recognized. Facing no competition, the members of the Kuomintang gradually were divided into rival cliques. People often criticized Chiang Kai-shek for not taking measures to remedy the situation. They have even blamed him for relying on the cliques to maintain his own supremacy. Instead of training the people to exercise their suffrage, recall, initiative and referendum and to pave the way for constitutional government as Dr. Sun expected, the Kuomintang began to drift away from the people. The deteriorating situation was described by a leading Chinese authority[10] as follows: "The leader of Kuomintang is not only the head of its organization, but actually holds it together. Or to state it in another way, the leader has allowed the party to be segmented so that he alone supplies the link between its several segments. It is in this all-important feature,

10. Ch'ien Tuan-sheng: The Government and Politics of China, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950, p. 132.

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rather than in its doctrine, or in its organization, or even in the social basis of its membership, that one can discover a key to the understanding of the Kuomintang."

At the outbreak of war with Japan, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party composed their differences, resulting in a truce. A People's Political Council was established. Leaders of the Communist Party as well as several smaller parties which had pledged their support to the national war effort were chosen to direct a united front against Japanese aggression. However, the political honeymoon did not last very long. As soon as the United States entered the war and ultimate defeat of Japan was assured, hostilities again broke out between the Kuomintang and Communist forces. Minority parties then clamored for the relinquishment of the one-party rule by the Kuomintang. Mediation by the United States, the convocation of the National Assembly, and the adoption of a new Constitution which placed all political parties on a footing of equality, failed to prevent the outbreak of civil war. In the subsequent political and military clashes, the weakness of the Kuomintang became more and more obvious. The party was almost on the verge of total collapse. President Chiang, in introducing a reform program for the Kuomintang in 1950, admitted[11] that the disastrous military

11. Addressing the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in July 1950. China Handbook 1952-53, Taipei, China Publish-

(continued next page)

665 reverses on the Mainland was not due to the
727 overwhelming strength of the Communists, which would be not strong enough to defeat the Nationalist forces, but due to the Nationalist Party's organizational weaknesses, loose discipline, and low morale.

665 In his capacity as Director General of the Kuomintang, Chiang proposed to reform thoroughly the Party by "getting rid of all factional and personal differences." A Central Reform Committee of 16 members was appointed in August 1950 to overhaul the party machinery on Formosa and the party branches in various overseas Chinese communities. At the same time the Kuomintang announced that it would respect the position of and co-operate with all democratic political parties that were anti-Communist in nature in order to struggle together for the salvation of the country and the defense of democracy. The reorganizational work of the Reform Committee was concluded in October 1952. A National Congress[12] of the Kuomintang was held on October 10, 1952. It adopted a political platform for the guidance of the government and formed a Central Advisory Committee with 48 members, and a Central

11. (continued) -ing Co., 1954, p. 341.
12. The Seventh National Congress.

605 Committee with 32 members and 16 alternates to direct the affairs of the Party.

Although the Kuomintang has always been the dominating party since the inception of the Nationalist Government in 1928, party membership is not the requisite to appointment to high posts in the government. For instance the present incumbent of the Defense Ministry, Mr. Yü Ta-wei is an independent. Members of two minor parties -- the Young China Party and the Democratic Socialist Party -- have been co-operating closely with the Kuomintang since the end of World War II and participating in the government.

The present membership of the Kuomintang has never been officially disclosed. Even the number of representatives who attended the Seventh National Congress of 1952 was not revealed. In a party report,[13] it was said that "during the past two years [1952-54], more and more young men and young women have joined the Party. More than 40 per cent of the new members are farmers and workers. The members are

13. Cited in China Handbook 1954-55, p. 433.

665 divided into about 15,000 small groups to hold bi-weekly meetings to discuss Party work." A private source estimates that, excluding the military personnel, the total membership of the Kuomintang in Formosa is around 80,000. The other two political parties[14] have always kept their membership a secret. But it cannot be too far from the truth to say that membership of each of these parties does not exceed a few thousand. The Young China Party is strongly nationalistic and anti-Communist, while the Democratic Socialist Party advocates democracy and socialism as their political goals.

In the election in 1947 of the delegates to the National Assembly and members of the Legislative Yuan and Control Yuan, special arrangement was made to insure the election of the members of the two minority parties. Tacit understanding was given by the Kuomintang not to compete in certain districts where the smaller parties had announced their own candidates. In Formosa, however, the quota system was not enforced. Hence in the two local elections of 1950 and 1953, the members of the two smaller parties relied on their own merit to compete with the candidates of the Kuomintang and the

14. A third small party -- the Democratic League -- has joined the Communists.

• 65 independents. As a result, only a handful members of the smaller parties were elected. The following table shows the relative strength of the three political parties in various representative organizations in Formosa.

	National Assembly	Legislative Yuan	Control Yuan	Provincial Assembly	Local Assemblies
Kuomintang	1,200	483	70	50	657
Democratic Socialists	61	14	2	2	none
Young China	85	13	8	2	3
Independents	232	73	13	3	268
Total	1,578	583	93	57	928

665 The above figures seem to bear out the statement that the Nationalist Government is a one-party government and President Chiang Kai-shek as Director General of the Party runs it.[15] The recent reorganization of the Kuomintang by eliminating its undesirable elements has only strengthened President Chiang's control.

The personalities most outstanding in present day Formosa aside from President Chiang are: his son Chiang Ching-kuo who directs the political officers in the army, the Youth corps and the security forces; General Chang Ch'ün, secretary-general to the President and a former Premier, who is the President's closest political advisor; and Vice-President Chen Ch'eng who has been for many years Chiang's chief military lieutenant. All three are capable, hard-working and devoted to President Chiang and his cause. Chiang is 69 and his second term as President of the Constitutional Government

15. The Director General [Tsung-s'ai] is virtually invested with broad power over the party. According to Articles 27-30 of the General Regulations of the Kuomintang, he directs the activities of all members, he may veto the resolutions of the National Party Congress and makes the final decision on any resolution proposed by the Central Committee.

of China will expire on May 10, 1960. It remains to be seen whether any of the three possesses the same stature as that of President Chiang Kai-shek and is able to pursue further Chiang's achievement in building Formosa into a strong bulwark against Communist aggression. In a country dominated by a strong leadership, there is always the inherent difficulty of finding an equally eminent successor.

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was that the Taiwanese were accustomed to the peace and order of a country under a foreign tyranny, and could not, at first, understand the "lack of uniformity" and "the complexities" of democratic rule (thanks to the Japanese, on the other hand, they had no illusions about or yearnings after Communism). Finally, the men who governed Taiwan immediately after the retrocession gave every evidence of being more interested in increasing their power and lining their pockets than in providing good management. When, therefore, the Nationalist government moved to Taiwan in 1949, it found that it had taken on numerous grave local problems in addition to those it had brought with it from the mainland.

Political Reform

The Kuomintang, the leading political party, prepared itself to deal with these problems by putting itself through a reorganization. Its younger, more liberal leaders were, to this end, appointed to a Central Reform Committee, the main task of which was to strengthen and tighten party organization and eliminate corrupt elements, opportunists, and bureaucratic politicians. On 1 September 1950, the Nationalist government was ready to announce a new political program. Its objectives were to

> encourage private enterprise to the extent of avoiding monopolistic combinations and to transfer government-operated light industries to private ownership; to establish a democratic industrial system in which the workers' welfare is safeguarded by allowing them a share and a voice in the ownership and management of private enterprise; to promote the interests of tenant farmers and farmers through land reform, water conservancy, and land reclamation; to carry out local self-government and to protect civil rights.

Local self-government and land reform were the fields in which the government brought about the most spectacular changes. It first removed all the social barriers and segregation measures that had been created and maintained by the Japanese. The native Taiwanese were no longer barred from institutions of higher learning, or from the worthwhile positions in commerce and politics. They were encouraged to participate in local self-government, and to think for themselves. By 6 May 1951, 21 mayors and magistrates in 16 counties and 5 municipalities had been elected to their respective offices by popular vote. There are now 6304 village and *li* (comparable to urban wards) assemblies, in which the Taiwanese are learning the art of self-government. Representing them in town and district assemblies are 8024 village and *li* delegates. On the county and municipal levels, there are about 541 popularly elected councilmen. Of an estimated 2,650,000 qualified men and women voters, some 2,416,072 are registered. In keeping with the government's policy of economy, the total number of government employees was reduced in June, 1950 to 81,000. The percentage of indigenous citizens in the government service rose to 65.46 percent.

There has also been a marked change in the importance and responsibility of the posts held by Taiwanese. In the category of first class officials, indigenous personnel have increased from 0.92 percent under Japanese rule to 17.45 percent in the present government. In the category of second class officials, indigenous personnel rose from 1.29 percent to 25 percent.

Land Reform

The other outstanding reform accomplished by the government has been the carrying out of a new land reform program, which has greatly benefited the lot of the farmers, who are no less than 60 percent of the population. For the 70 percent of the farmers who are

52:Steiner S-4 (no date) 1951
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Nationalist Government Policies, 1949–1951

By GUNG-HSING WANG

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THE political pattern of Nationalist China in contemporary Taiwan (Formosa) is set by a series of events which took place between January 21, 1949 and March 1, 1950. The first was the date on which President Chiang Kai-shek "stepped down" from office to clear the way for a negotiated peace with the Communists. Advocated by the peace party and the moderates within the Kuomintang (KMT) and backed by popular support, the attempt failed in the face of mounting Communist military successes. During the interval, Acting President Li Tsung-jen steered the ship of state against overwhelming odds of financial, military, and political difficulties. His administration was inconclusive when in November 1949 he left for the United States for reasons of health.

Succumbing to the circumstances, a dual process, characterized by the transfer of top-ranking Nationalist personnel, armed forces, and financial assets to Taiwan and a partial disintegration of the KMT, dominated the Nationalist political sky. Of the former, the transfer began with the appointment of General Chen Cheng as Governor of Taiwan on January 5, 1949. It reached a climax on December 7, 1949, when the seat of the National Government was established in Taiwan. The process was completed on March 1, 1950 when President Chiang Kai-shek announced his resumption of office.[1] With reference to the disinte-

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NOTE: Citations and references marked with an asterisk (*) refer to Chinese-language sources.

[1] For constitutional provisions regarding presidential term of office, see The Constitution of The Republic of China, 1947, Arts. 47,

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gration of the KMT, a part of its members who remained on the mainland went over to the Communists. Another part, for the time being at least, faded away for various reasons. The KMT as presently established in Taiwan may be described as composed of those who follow President Chiang's leadership and are personally loyal to him.

In principle, any political party subscribing to the provisions of the Constitution [2] may legally contest for political power. Located in Taiwan today are the national headquarters of the Kuomintang, the Young China Party, and the Democratic Socialist Party.[3] Of these, the KMT assumes an over-all political leadership. An analysis of the National Government policies may well begin with the recent changes in the KMT.

Kuomintang "Reformation"

Normally, the highest organ of the Kuomintang is the National Congress, comprised of delegates elected by party members in their respective districts. This Congress, meeting once every two years, elects the Central Executive Committee (CEC) and the Central Supervisory Committee (CSC) which manage the party affairs.[4] In a move to reform the party, the functions of CEC and CSC were terminated following a resolution introduced by Chiang Kai-shek

[2] For the text of the Constitution, see *China Handbook 1950* (New York, 1950), pp. 144–55.

[3] Brief accounts of these parties can be found in *China Handbook 1950*, pp. 236–51, 255–57, and 257–58 respectively.

[4] See General Regulations of the Kuomintang as amended, May 1945*. Also *China Handbook 1950*, pp. 240–43.

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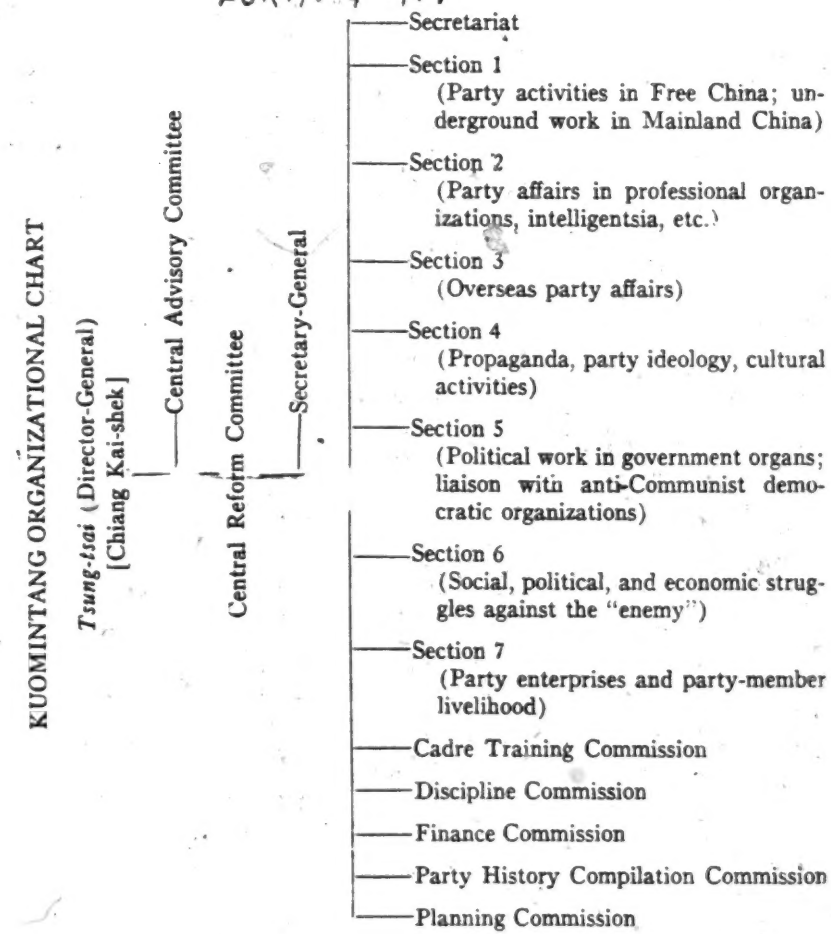

and adopted by the Standing Committee of the CEC on July 22, 1950.[5] Subsequently, a Central Reform Committee of sixteen members and an Advisory Committee of twenty-five members were appointed. Having held government or party offices for varying lengths of time, these committee members are well known in Kuomintang circles. A difference in the age composition of the committee members is evident. The Reform Committee, comprising the "younger"

[5] As distributed by The Government Spokesman's Office, Taipeh.

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men—whose average age (1951) is 48—administers the Reform Plan,[6] while the Advisory Committee, composed of the elder "party-statesmen"—whose average age is 66—supervises the administration.

The Reform Plan seeks to tighten the party organization by eliminating corrupt elements, opportunists, and bureaucratic politicians. It proposes to strengthen the party cadre by recruiting patriotic elements from among the

[6] See resolutions cited note 5 *supra*; also *Reform* (Taipeh), Vol. I, No. 1 (Sept. 1950), pp. 5–17.

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665 youth, intellectuals, and agricultural and industrial workers. It commands the party members to go to the masses and work for their well-being.[7]

A new political program was announced on September 1, 1950.[8] Its general objectives are to restore national sovereignty and to put democracy into practice. Specifically, it proposes: (1) to encourage private enterprise to the extent of avoiding monopolistic combinations and to transfer government-operated light industries to private ownership; (2) to establish a democratic industrial system in which workers' welfare is safeguarded by allowing them a share and a voice in the ownership and management of private enterprises; (3) to welcome foreign investment and technical co-operation; (4) to promote the interests of tenant farmers and farmers through land reform, water conservancy, and land reclamation; (5) to carry out local self-government and to protect civil rights; and (6) following restoration of mainland China, to punish Communist leaders, to extend amnesty to those who follow them under duress, and to allow farmers to continue tilling the land they have been tilling.

Relations Between National and Provincial Government

642 The practical effects of the program may be reflected in varying degrees by what has been taking place in Taiwan.[9] Organically speaking, the National Goverment looks after foreign affairs, national defense, the administration and adjudication of national laws, national revenues, and foreign trade policies. The powers of the provincial government consist of those which are inherent

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *The Present Political Platform of the Kuomintang*, Taipeh: Government Spokesman's Office, Sept. 1950.

[9] Taiwan: population, 7,026,883 (1949); area, 35,961 sq. km. For other essential facts, see *China Handbook 1950*, pp. 33–39.

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625 wine, tobacco, and salt in violation of government monopoly, and violations of the 37.5 rent reduction program.

Conclusions

643 In describing the Nationalist government policies, 1949–51, the writer has sought to ascertain their nature and contents by recounting a chain of events which set the political pattern in contemporary Taiwan and by a survey of what has taken place since. From them may be drawn the following tentative conclusions:

1. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters have been exercising a dominant role in National Government policies, 1949–51.

665 2. While there are three known political parties active in national politics in Taiwan, the Kuomintang, as presently constituted, is the ruling party.

631 3. The political framework in Taiwan may be described as one of over-all political control by the Nationalist government, centralized management by the provincial government, and local self-government, still in its preliminary stage, at the municipal and county levels.

652 4. The National Taiwan currency has exhibited a degree of stability which compares favorably with that in most postwar countries having suffered from war devastation.

5. Nationalist government assets and reserve, sale of government properties, and ECA assistance are contributing factors in balancing the provincial budgets in recent years.

427 6. The 37.5 rent reduction program has contributed towards rural well-being, along with the projects sponsored by the Joint Committee on Rural Rehabilitation.

433 7. There has been an upward trend in agricultural and industrial produc-

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214 seas subscriptions to local newspapers, which were an important supplement to and check on the central organs.

665 214 Publications of the Chinese Communist Party are as abundant as those of the government. The millions of party members have to be kept informed, as do the cadres or political shock troops. Apparently the party chiefs consider that normal commercial channels constitute an efficient means of distributing many instructions and reports on party affairs. As a result, a large body of generally available material deals in detail with the problems of party organisation, indoctrination, discipline, and program. Obviously the published record is incomplete, but it is extensive and credible as far as it goes. This material is intended as the basis for action, and therefore it can be presumed to be reasonably accurate within the Communist framework.

214 Doctrinal questions are especially well covered in the available documentation, and it would be impossible to overstate the importance of understanding the theory of Chinese society and of the Chinese revolution as it is now developing in Communist China. In retrospect, it is plain that this theory has been gradually modified by and adapted to the Chinese scene. Its development therefore sheds light on actual conditions in China. It is also now evident that theory of social development may have greater significance for world affairs than apparently more dramatic and portentous economic or military policies. Some twenty million people are avidly studying these vast theoretical questions, and samples of the views of various groups are available. On another level, leading theoreticians are contributing to the new history, the new economics, the new sociology, and the new philosophy. The majority of these works are of importance mainly as examples of doctrinal development.

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